

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 KHARTO 01981 150822Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----150830Z 073946 /23  
P 150711Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4616

S E C R E T KHARTOUM 1981

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MASS, MPOL, SU, US  
SUBJECT: US MILITARY SALES TO SUDAN

SUMMARY: IN CONSIDERING SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM SUDAN USG SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF LONG RANGE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF SUDAN TO US. NOR SHOULD SUDANESE DESIRE FOR BROADLY BASED RELATIONSHIP WITH US BE IGNORED. DEPARTMENT SHOULD CONSIDER OVERALL STRATEGY VIS-A-VIS SUDAN IN DETERMINING HOW TO RESPOND TO SPECIFIC REQUESTS.  
END SUMMARY.

1. AS DEPARTMENT AND OTHERS PONDER HOW TO REPLY TO RECENT REQUESTS BY PRESIDENT NIMEIRI AND OTHER TOP SUDANGOV OFFICIALS FOR F-5S AND OTHER SENSITIVE ITEMS MILITARY EQUIPMENT, BELIEVE THERE ARE SOME LONG-RANGE FACTORS BEYOND CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION IN HORN WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED. AS I

UNDERSTAND NEW GUIDELINES CRITICAL ELEMENT IN NEW USG ARMS SALES POLICY IS PRESERVATION AND ADVANCEMENT OF US INTERESTS. THIS REQUIRES CAREFUL DEFINITION OF US INTERESTS IN SUDAN.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 KHARTO 01981 150822Z

2. MY OWN VIEW IF THAT SUDAN IS LIKELY TO BECOME ECONOMICALLY ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES AND OUR STRATEGY SHOULD BE TO DEVELOP AN OVER-ALL RELATIONSHIP HERE THAT WILL GIVE US A POSITION WHEN SUDAN TAKES OFF ECONOMICALLY ANALOGOUS TO OUR POSITION IN SAUDI ARABIA WHEN IT BURST UPON PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS FOUR OR FIVE YEARS AGO. SUDAN COULD

VERY WELL BECOME NOT ONLY A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF FOOD IN A FOOD DEFICIENT WORLD, BUT THERE REASONABLY GOOD CHANCE IT WILL ALSO DEVELOP INTO AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF SEVERAL RAW MATERIALS INCLUDING PETROLEUM. AS IT DEVELOPS IT IS LIKELY TO BECOME A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT LOCUS OF US INVESTMENT, AND A SIGNIFICANT TRADING PARTNER AS WELL AS A KEY SOURCE OF FOOD AND MINERALS. AS ITS ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE INCREASES SO ALSO WILL ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE, ESPECIALLY GIVEN ITS LARGE SIZE AND STRATEGIC POSITION. IT IS, IN SHORT, NOT JUST ANOTHER LDC AND US INTERESTS WILL BE PRESERVED BY A STRONG, STABLE SUDAN.

3. THE SUDANESE ALREADY WANT A BROAD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US THAT ENTAILS POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC AS WELL AS MILITARY COOPERATION. PRESENTLY, THE SUDANGOV FEELS THREATENED, AND I THINK MOST OBJECTIVE OBSERVERS AGREE THAT A REAL THREAT EXISTS. THUS THE REQUESTS FOR F-5S AND OTHER ITEMS. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE IN ADDITION TO WANTING US EQUIPMENT KAFOR OBVIOUS MILITARY REASONS, SUDANGOV WANTS US RPT US EQUIPMENT BECAUSE OF WHAT THAT MEANS POLITICALLY. US POLITICAL SUPPORT AS EVIDENCED BY SALES OF US EQUIPMENT IS CONSIDERED AS MUCH OF A DETERRENT TO POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS AS THE EQUIPMENT ITSELF.

4. THE REAL ISSUE IS WHETHER IN SATISFYING SUDANESE REQUESTS WE CONTRADICT OUR GENERAL POLICIES OR JEOPARDIZE WIDER INTERESTS. MY OPINION IS THAT WE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 KHARTO 01981 150822Z

WOULD NOT. SUDAN, EVEN WITH ALL THE EQUIPMENT WE MIGHT PROVIDE WILL NOT RPT NOT THREATEN ISRAEL NOR WILL IT APPRECIABLY ADD TO OVERALL ARAB CAPABILITIES. IF ANYTHING A STRONGER SUDAN WOULD STABILIZE THE HORN SINCE IT WOULD THEN LIKELY BE BETTER ABLE TO DETER PRESENTLY SUPERIOR ETHIOPIAN AND LIBYAN FORCES WHICH ARE STRONGLY BACKED BY SOVIETS. MOST IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, LIMITED SALES OF US DEFENSIVE EQUIPMENT WOULD HELP ANCHOR OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP TO SERVE OUR FUTURE INTERESTS HERE ESPECIALLY AS SUCH SALES COULD HELP PRESERVE INTEGRITY OF COUNTRY AND ITS MODERATE LEADERSHIP.

5. REALIZE THAT HAVING SAID ALL OF ABOVE IT MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE PROVIDE CERTAIN ITEMS, SUCH AS HAWK MISSILE SYSTEMS WHICH WOULD BE NEWLY INTRODUCED INTO AFRICA THOUGH NOT RPT NOT TO MIDDLE EAST OF WHICH SUDAN IS ALSO A PART. WOULD HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT THOSE ITEMS WHICH HAVE BEEN MENTIONED BY SUDANESE OFFICIALS SUCH

AS EARLY WARNING RADAR, PATROL BOATS OR HELICOPTERS  
WHICH ARE LESS CONTROVERSIAL THAN F-5S OR OTHER ITEMS  
COULD BE ACTED UPON RELATIVELY SOON. DEPARTMENT MAY  
WISH INDICATE THAT USG IS PREPARED RECEIVE FORMAL  
REQUESTS FOR CERTAIN SELECTED ITEMS NOW WHILE  
WE CONSIDER FURTHER MORE DIFFICULT SYSTEMS MENTIONED  
TO US BY NIMEIRI AND OTHERS.  
BOGOSIAN

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 15-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977KHARTO01981  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770213-0376  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** KHARTOUM  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770655/aaaabwcb.tel  
**Line Count:** 124  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 0e25777c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2146051  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** US MILITARY SALES TO SUDAN SUMMARY: IN CONSIDERING SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM SUDAN  
USG SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF  
**TAGS:** MASS, MPOL, SU, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/0e25777c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009